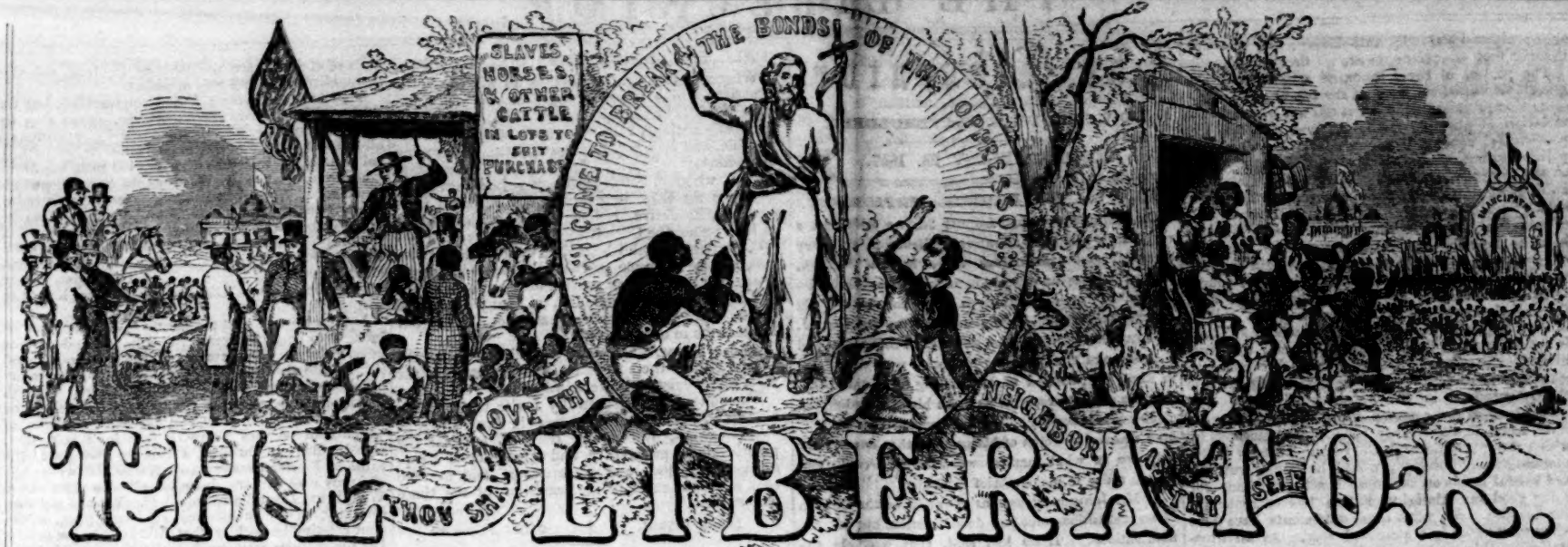


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THE LIBERATOR
— IS PUBLISHED —
EVERY FRIDAY MORNING,
— AT THE —
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ROBERT F. WALLCUT, General Agent.
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serted three times for 75 cents — one square for \$1.00.
The Agents of the American, Massachusetts,
Pennsylvania, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery So-
cieties are authorized to receive subscriptions for THE
LIBERATOR.
The following gentlemen constitute the Finan-
cial Committee, but are not responsible for any of the
acts of the paper, viz: — FRANCIS JACKSON, ELLIS
GRAY LORING, EDMUND QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILLIPS,
and WENDELL PHILLIPS.



NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.
The United States Constitution is 'a covenant with
death, and an agreement with hell.'
The free States are the guardians and essen-
tial supports of slavery. We are the jailers and con-
stable of the institution. . . . There is some excuse
for commutation, when, under a generous impulse,
they espouse the cause of the oppressed in other States,
and by force restore their rights; but they are without
excuse in aiding other States in binding on men an
unrighteous yoke. On this subject, OUR FATHERS, IN
FRAMING THE CONSTITUTION, SWORE FROM THE
RIGHT. We their children, at the end of half a cen-
tury, see the path of duty more clearly than they,
and must walk in it. To this point the public mind
has long been tending, and the time has come for look-
ing at it fully, dispassionately, and with manly and
Christian resolution. . . . No blessing of the Union
can be a compensation for taking part in the enslaving
of our fellow-creatures; nor ought this bond to be
perpetuated, if experience shall demonstrate that it
can only continue through our participation in wrong
doing. To this conviction the free States are tending.
— WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor. Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.
VOL. XXVII. NO. 35. BOSTON, FRIDAY, AUGUST 28, 1857. J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.
WHOLE NUMBER, 1390.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BAPTIST STATE CONVENTION.
The Thirty-seventh Anniversary of the Baptist
State Convention of South Carolina was held at
the old site, beginning on the 25th, and ending on the
29th ult.
The Convention was organized on Saturday by the
action of Rev. Dr. Reynolds, as President, Rev.
J. Manly, as Vice President, and Rev. J. J. Brant-
ley, Secretary.
On Tuesday, at 11-1/2 A. M., the special order
of the Convention was to express the views of
the Convention in regard to the late action of
the American Tract Society, on the subject of Slavery.
The Committee reported through their chair-
man, Rev. Dr. Manly, as follows:
REPORT.
The Committee to whom it was referred to con-
sider and report on the subject of the American
Tract Society, in regard to the action of the Amer-
ican Tract Society, on the subject of Slavery, at its
annual meeting in May, 1857, beg leave to report,
that the declared object of the American Tract So-
ciety is 'to diffuse a knowledge of our Lord Jesus
Christ, as the Redeemer of sinners, and to promote
the interests of vital godliness and sound morality,
by the circulation of religious tracts, calculated to
revive the approbation of all Evangelical Chris-
tians.'
Among those intended by the term 'Evangelical
Christians,' many slaveholders were from the be-
ginning included; and the approbation of such was
expressly made, by the Convention, the measure of
its duty in part for this Society, in its publications.
The Society did not decide what 'Evangelical Chris-
tians' ought to agree in on controverted points, but
what they are agreed in. And they seemed to be
generally restrained from publishing anything on
the subject of Slavery, for the reason, that nothing
they would say could be approved alike by the slave-
holding and the non-slaveholding portion of the
constituents of the Society.
By the late action of the Society, its publishing
Committee are instructed that there are 'moral du-
ties which grow out of the system of Slavery, which
will as the moral evils and vices which it is known
to promote, condemned in Scripture, much deplored
by Evangelical Christians, which undoubtedly do
lie within the province of the Society, and can
and ought to be discussed in a fraternal and Christian
spirit.'
This entirely changes the position of the Society,
and the publishing Committee undertake what
is simply an impossibility under the Constitution.
The Southern people cannot close their eyes to the
fact, that the Northern portion of the constituents
of this Society, its agents, even its Secretaries, con-
sider Slavery to be a sin in itself, and are so imbued
with this conviction that it pervades all they say,
(in an undertone, at least,) and leaks out when they
least seem to intend or to know it.
From the authorized and permanent documents
of the Society, published under the direction of the
Secretaries, a few selections are made to show the
spirit which pervades them.
The Rev. Charles Peabody, a general superintend-
ent of Tract operations in a slaveholding State, (Miss-
souri,) says in his Report for 1856, pages 108, 109,
'unfortunately, in one State comprised in my field,
the institution of Slavery exists.' The author of
the statement, an avowed enemy of Slavery, further
says that the Colporteurs under his control 'are
particularly directed to visit the whole population,
and free.' The Reports of these Colporteurs
show that they have many interviews with the
slave, and sell many books among them.
In a circular appended to the same Report in
which this singular statement is mentioned, the
Executive officers of the Society, as individuals,
have no sympathy with slavery; and in ex-
ecuting a chartered trust, they are strictly bound
to offend Northern Christians by upholding the
system, as not to offend Southern Christians by un-
justifiable denunciations. They seem to think that
the appointment of an anti-slavery Agent, in a
slaveholding State, and the sale of 'our own
anti-slavery sentiments, ought not to be offensive to
the South. Page 201.
In the Report of the Society for 1857, page 245,
the Rev. Hugh S. Carpenter, one of the speakers,
says, 'what will you do for Africa? Will you
send Africa under the lash and under the whip, until
it learns to be brave and wise? This gross and of-
fensive caricature is incorporated into the perma-
nent authorized documents of the Society.
In page 226 of the same Report, the Committee of
Finance express the confident expectation that 'this
and all other moral evils shall yield to the promised
triumph of the everlastingly Gospel.' The expres-
sion gives its tone to the whole Report of that Com-
mittee.
In the Report for 1856, page 201, the chairman
of the publishing Committee, Dr. Knox, and the
Secretary, Mr. Hallock, issued a circular (by
way of appendix) in which the following sentences re-
solved, 'Let us first say the idea that this Society has
been silent as to the evil of slavery, can be enter-
tained by no one who has read its publications. Its
works, like the moral and religious works of our
people generally, and the Holy Scriptures, make
apology for the subject, never approving it,
and apologizing for it.' A little below the question
is asked—how far can the Society go in showing the
evils of slavery?—The writers answer—'its Consti-
tution allows it to go as far as Evangelical Chris-
tians in the Northern and Southern States can ap-
prove the publications it may issue, and no farther.'
In the second Resolution proffered by the Com-
mittee of fifteen at the late Anniversary, and adopted
by the Society, they class slaveholding with inter-
ference, piracy, &c.
If such sentiments occur in documents holding
out no pretense to attack the lawfulness of hold-
ing slaves, and which they seem to suppose are con-
sistently—what can we expect, when the new policy
shall be inaugurated, under the late instructions
to discuss 'the moral evils and vices, which slavery
is known to promote'?

whom we thought we had a right to confide. We
ourselves are not afraid of the conflict with abolition
arguments; we know how to answer them. But
shall we discuss these questions with our negroes?
Shall we allow doubly-dyed abolitionists to do it?
We cannot admit them to circulate among us
what we have not ourselves approved; this would
open a door, at which they would presently enter
with what they have approved, and not see. We
have no resource but to lay an absolute interdiction
on everything connected with the subject, as coming
from that quarter. Even the modified co-operation
proposed by the S. C. Branch of the American
Tract Society, in view of all the facts, comes short;
it fails to express with sufficient decision and abso-
luteness, that we are inaccessible to Northern peo-
ple on that subject. We do not ask them to approve
or apologize for slaveholding. They may surely be
willing to say nothing at all about it; for if there be
any responsibility, duty, or sin in respect of it, that
responsibility, duty, or sin is not theirs. If we ap-
prove of slaveholding, and think we can defend it to
our satisfaction, that is exclusively our concern.—
We shall not disturb them with our arguments; nor
shall we ask them to publish our approval or de-
fence. Can they not agree to attend to their own
Constitutional business, and let our slaveholding
alone? If not, then the case is plainly this; we
cannot work with them; neither can we permit
them to carry on their work in the sphere that we
occupy, if we have any means to prevent it.
The Committee, therefore, with profound regret,
but under the pressure of an obligation which we
cannot, dare not evade, recommended to the con-
vention the adoption of the following resolutions:
1. Resolved, That this Convention regards the
late action of the American Tract Society, on the
subject of slavery, as unconstitutional and unjust,
and especially offensive, as breathing a restless, per-
sistent disposition to meddle with what does not
belong to them.
2. Resolved, That the members of this body can-
not contribute funds to the American Tract Society,
nor recognize its agents or Colporteurs, while the
action referred to remains uncorrected; and that we
advise our Brethren and Friends, throughout the
State, to adopt a similar course.
Respectfully submitted,
B. MANLY, Chairman.

The Liberator.

SPEECH OF WM. H. FISH,
At the First of August Celebration at Hopkinton, Mass.
Photographically reported by DAN A. CORROCK.
It is with great pleasure, Mr. President and friends,
that I meet with you here to-day, amid these pleas-
ant scenes, and to participate with you in this feast
of true religion and philanthropy, to which we have all
been invited, and which we are sharing together. I
am glad to be here, to look once more into the faces
of so many personal friends, and to greet so many lovers
of freedom and humanity. I am specially glad of this
privilege, because, for the last year or two, I have not
participated much in such meetings, and have there-
fore lost the sympathy, strength and encouragement
derived from them. I have been laboring in quite a
different field from this, yet to the same end that is
had in view here to-day. I have come to you, as
many of you know, from central New York, where
there is more unmitigated hunkerism, than of a polit-
ical and religious character, than even here in New
England. There, there has not been so much light
disseminated as here, and the church, especially walks
in greater darkness. It is, in many respects, a hard
field of labor for the reformer; yet true men are found
everywhere, both in the church and out of it, whose
hearts beat in sympathy with the cause and the friends
of liberty.
But we have come here to-day to rejoice with
them that rejoice—to rejoice, not with the more fa-
vored of the earth, however, but with those who are
still, in some respects, among the unfortunate races.
And this is the true spirit of Christianity. He has
not a Christian heart who does not delight to see
others happy. But if we find it in us sincerely to
rejoice with those who have obtained deliverance from
their bonds, in this respect we are at one with the true
God,—though not with the popular idol of the na-
tion. The God generally worshipped in America
does not rejoice over the improved condition of the
millions of the West India isles, whose emancipation
we have met here to celebrate. If he did, his wor-
shippers would be rejoicing also, as we do, for they
would wish to imitate him. But where are their cele-
brations of this great and glorious event? They are
not to be found, for they have no such conceptions of
God as lead them to suppose that he cares much about
such events; but when they come to see God as this
beneficent and beautiful nature around us reveals
him, and as Jesus revealed him, they will become
more like him, and rejoice in the triumphs of human-
ity and in the diffusion of joy. Their conception of
him now is a pro-slavery conception; and so far as it
is pro-slavery, it is the legitimate work of the anti-
slavery platform to labor to overthrow it. A despotic
idea of God necessarily makes despots.
But we rejoice to-day not only for the emancipated
thousands themselves, but for the peaceful manner in
which their emancipation was secured. It was a tri-
umph of humanity; not, perhaps, really so on the
part of the government, but there was a humane
power behind the throne greater than the throne it-
self, and that compelled the act. It was only a hand-
ful of true and faithful men and women who put the
ball in motion. The Word of the Lord which went
not forth in vain, but which accomplished the thing
whereunto it was sent, was uttered by them. See
here a striking illustration of the saying, that 'one
shall chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to
flight.' And, in the long run, it shall always be so.
Let us take this as an encouragement to labor for
American emancipation.
But we are here to-day not only to rejoice but to
weep—to weep with those that are still 'in bonds, as
bound with them.' And here, too, we manifest the
true spirit of Christianity, and our oneness with the
true God. They who have no interest in the Anti-
Slavery movement—no hearty, practical interest in
it—know neither Jesus nor the God whom Jesus
preached. Humanity is the fruit and also the proof
of the Christian faith and character.
But we are here not only to deplore the influence
of slavery upon its immediate victims, but upon the
whole country. Slavery corrupts every thing it

touches, and has eaten out almost all the humanity of
the nominally free—made slaves of thousands of them.
It has specially corrupted the government, commerce,
politics, and the church. And how very few individ-
uals are to be found who manifest an understanding
and practical love of freedom, as a universal prin-
ciple! Hardly one in a hundred.
The star of despotism is in the ascendant, and
whence are coming to us my rays of light for our en-
couragement? What are the instrumentalities on
which we can rely for the overthrow of the giant
institution against which we war? It is often said that
God is on our side; and this is certainly true, and
enough in itself to make one brave and hopeful; for
if God be with us, no matter who is against us, we
are in the majority, small as our number may be.
But are we to leave this work to God, trusting that
he will accomplish it 'in his own due time,' as the scribes
and Pharisees tell us? No. His manner of perform-
ing any such work is by entering into the hearts and
speaking to the world through the voices and acts of
his faithful servants. It is not God enthroned in the
heavens, and putting forth miraculous powers, that
is to accomplish the desired redemption, but God in-
carated in human flesh, as the spirit of holiness, and
truth, and justice, and philanthropy. The spirit of
freedom, of love, in our hearts, is God with us. As
God these enters into mankind will he work out the
desires hoped for. We shall look in vain to the popu-
lar deity to help us after the popular church meth-
ods. God within must be our reliance.
But what are the special human instrumentalities
to which we must look? Not to the government, of
course, for that is practically and even constitutionally
against the rights of a whole race of men, at least.
It recognizes no Higher Law than its own—no God
that is a God. And as for any political party under
the government, no one can rationally ask one to be
uncompromising for freedom and justice—truly right-
eous and Christian. The two leading parties, Demo-
cratic and Republican, are both pro-slavery—some
parties; and though the Republican party is the least
pro-slavery of the two, and has the noblest leaders
and the highest claim to respect, it must be acknowl-
edged that even some Democrats are far more entit-
led to the reputation of being anti-slavery than some Re-
publicans. This is particularly the case in localities
where the Garrisonian movement has not been.
I have found it to be so, in some instances, in Central
New York. We cannot judge men by the parties to
which they belong, but must judge them by their
spirit and their fruits, endeavoring to do exact justice
to all, awarding honor where it is due, and rebuking
all who deserve rebuke. Republicanism is constantly
making its compromises with despotism, and should
be sternly criticized for its own and the world's good.
But we can afford to acknowledge all its merits, and
it certainly has some.

There is but one political party in the land that sets
up any claim to be an uncompromising party—a party
of righteousness—and that is the Gerrit Smith party.
Now, Mr. Smith is himself one of the noblest men of
the age, and undoubtedly means, with a few of his as-
sociates, to be thoroughly and consistently anti-slavery;
but then, the mass of the party—at least, in that
part of New York where I am residing—are quite
distinguished for arguing the anti-slavery character
of the Constitution, and for voting for those who hold
to its pro-slavery character! In this respect, it is a
very inconsistent party, to say the least, and cannot be
relied upon. If it would carry out its views, it would
be virtually a dissolution party, and might do some-
thing effectually. And it ought to do this, or re-
nounce its high professions and join the Republicans
—not assume to be uncompromising against despotism
in words, and in deeds deny it. Sometimes,
members of this party have seemed to me to contend
for the anti-slavery character of the Constitution to
screen themselves from the charge of pro-slavery.
But as long as they are inconsistent with their pro-
fessions, they also should be justly criticised, and called
up higher. If they are only Republicans, let them
call themselves so.

And, then, as to the Church—that great, boastful
religious institution, represented by Catholicism and
the various forms of Protestantism, that is made up
of such a heterogeneous mass of materials, Demo-
crats, Whigs, Know-Nothings, Republicans, and
'good, bad and indifferent' persons, that it were uti-
litarian indeed to ask or expect that to be a unit against
slavery and in behalf of freedom. How could a
house divided against itself stand? It has been truly
said here to-day, that no minister can go South, and
preach the full Gospel of Christ, without jeopardizing
his last pupil and position in the Church. Not one
out of twenty certainly. There are few churches
in Massachusetts in which the truths uttered here to-
day would be tolerated for a month; and most min-
isters know that if they should open their minds
and hearts on this great question of slavery
and freedom, they would soon be dismissed. They
are dependent upon all sorts of politicians, and almost
all sorts of characters, and have to study to keep
these united.
The great and essential need of the times is, then,
an uncompromising party—a party which will com-
promise with neither government, political party, nor
religious sect. Such a party is represented on this
platform to-day—a party whose mottoes are, 'No
Union with Slaveholders'—'No Concealment, no
Compromise.' Its members ask no office under gov-
ernment, no favor from political parties, no pulpits
from the church, no position from society, in which
they cannot openly maintain and carry out their prin-
ciples. Of course, it costs something, to many, to
stand on this ground, and there is often a heavy cross
to take up, great sacrifices to be made. Some here
know that by experience. This party is therefore nec-
essarily small; but small as it is, its spirit has gone
out into all the land, and it is a terror to evil doers—
a terror to the government, to politicians, to priests,
to churches. Were it not for this party, all others
would stand far below the position they now occupy.
'Garrisonianism' is to these political and religious
parties what a locomotive is to a train of cars—it
drags them from their inertia. Ministers ought to thank it
that it has made it easy for them to say even the tame
things that they do.
This party is sowing the seed from which is to come

the future harvest of freedom. It has always been
the fate of all truly reform parties to do more for the
world than for themselves; and they have ceased to
do their work when they have become large and
popular. So must it be with this party; and no one
who understands the philosophy of reform is discour-
aged by its smallness.
I see around me to-day many brother ministers, and
I would say to them, Let us preach an uncompro-
mising gospel or no gospel, and stand in free pulpits
or none; and if ministers are driven out of their pul-
pits for their faithfulness in applying Christian truth
to slavery and all corrupt institutions and customs,
they will undoubtedly find themselves ended with
a new moral and spiritual power, and exerting a
mighty influence for good than ever before upon so-
ciety. I believe they would soon witness a revival
of religion, under their devoted labors, worthy the name
—a humane religion, that would bless the world.
And many of the common people are waiting for such
a movement on the part of ministers; and it is the
only thing that can save multitudes of thinking and
human men and women from entire skepticism in
religious matters. Pro-slavery religion necessarily
makes 'infidels,' for it is worse than no religion.
A few words more, and I will leave you. We have
been charmed to-day and also morally thrilled by the
earnest and eloquent manner in which our sister (Miss
Watkins) has addressed us. Now, to understand
what slavery is, let us remember that it would take
her, so nobly endowed, so finely cultivated, and with
such a persuasive voice, and rob her of her woman-
hood and humanity, and reduce her to the condition
of a chattel, a beast! Were this attempted here to-
day, we would, indeed, protect her at the hazard of
our lives—all of us would, stirred by a humane and
generous impulse. But we ought to have within us
a principle of philanthropy, of Christianity, which
would move us to do in all cases what some would do
from impulse in a case like the one supposed. To-
day, we would sooner unite with a body of horse
chevrons than to unite with men who would reduce
Miss Watkins to bondage. But there are undoubt-
edly many in slavery who are even her equals by na-
ture, if not by culture. The government keeps such
in their chains by its army and navy, and the church
sanctions and sanctifies this great iniquity! The
true doctrine, then, to preach and to practice, in re-
ference to these bodies, is the coming out of them, that
we be not partakers of their sins. If we have any
political and religious organizations, let us have such
as are thoroughly and uncompromisingly anti-slavery.
Then the blessings of these ready to perish, and the
blessing of God, will surely be upon us. God is a
good paymaster. No matter if it cost us office, pul-
pits, and pleasant positions in society, to be true to the
slave and to freedom—it is better to be in the right
with a handful, than to go with the multitude to do
evil.

I am glad, as from year to year this anniversary
comes round, to see here the same familiar faces,
ever 'faithful among the faithless found.' Friends,
abide in this work unto the end, and yours will be
the satisfaction of knowing that whilst this holy cause
was unpopular, and reproached by State and Church,
and the fashion of the world, it had your sympathy
and support, and made you the better prepared even
for a higher life.

SPEECH OF REV. MR. BARBER, of Mendon.
MR. BARBER said that he had been unexpectedly
called on to speak. He remarked that the Anti-Sla-
very cause was one in which he felt a very great in-
terest, and one which was near and dear to his heart.
It was a subject upon which he always spoke freely,
distinctly and decidedly, not only in private, but also
in public. The freedom of the pulpit had been al-
luded to. He could say that he always stood in, a free
pulpit, and always spoke his own sentiments on this
great subject. He had but one master to serve, and
he is Christ; one God to worship, and he our Father
in heaven.
Of all truths in the New Testament, this great
truth stands first and foremost—that it is our duty to
love, obey and reverence God. If God be the Father
of all men, then all men, black or white, bond or free,
are brothers, and his children. Our anti-slavery sen-
timent should commence with an acknowledgment of
the duties we owe to God. Let the soul be consecrated
to God as a reasonable service; and if we truly
love God whom we have not seen, we shall love our
brother whom we have seen.
Let us, said Mr. B., return one moment to the sub-
ject which has brought us together. To-day, as has
been said, there are four millions of our fellow-beings
in bondage; and it has also been said, that slavery is
the greatest wrong that can be inflicted upon a human
being. Grant it. How is that wrong to be removed?
Our friends here have inscribed upon their banner,
'No Union with Slaveholders.' If they can tell me
what it is not to have any union with slaveholders,
they would be glad to know. We are bound together
by States, by interest, by labor, and by sympathy; and I
see not how it is possible, so long as we remain with-
in the borders of the government, for us to say, with
truth, that we have no union with slaveholders. Does
it mean, because I believe if there is a good specu-
lation to be made, they who come here would be as
ready and willing to engage in such speculation with
Southern men as with other men. But it is a social
union—they will have nothing to do with slavehold-
ers as individuals. Here I agree with them. If an
individual, who holds his brother in bondage, comes
to me, and asks me to grant him certain privileges, I
say, 'No! So long as you hold your brother as a
slave, I cannot recognize you as a man'—therefore, we
must take the ground, not that we will have no union
with slaveholders directly, but that we must, under
the circumstances, exert all the powers within us,
and do all we can, to remove this evil. Preach Chris-
tianity; preach freedom as engrained in the Declara-
tion of Independence, and endeavor to the utmost of
our power to indurate the sentiment of freedom
into the minds of those who are here at the North, as
well as those in the Southern States, thus causing
them no longer to be interlinked as supporters of this
base system.

The question recurs, How is this evil to be remov-
ed? I could wish, said Mr. B., that the same course
could be taken here, with reference to the abolition
of slavery, that was adopted by the British government.
I believe that if this government would take the sub-
ject in hand, the institution of slavery might soon be
removed. A portion of the vast revenue of our coun-
try might be annually appropriated for the purchase
of our slaves, and by this means, slavery would soon
be removed from our midst. But we want a senti-
ment to induce the people to take this step. Where
is this sentiment to come from? First of all, it is to
come from a just education of the youth. Fathers
and mothers, every child God has given you should
be consecrated to God and the cause of universal
liberty. Let the same baptismal vow go with it, and
let the same water that sprinkles its forehead, consec-
rating it to the service of God, devote it also to the
cause of freedom.
This, then, is the idea: There should be an anti-
slavery sentiment incorporated into the hearts of the
people. I tell you, friends, that this sentiment is be-
coming stronger and more active every day we live.
Look about us! Fifteen years ago, and I am glad
our friends have been so hopeful, fifteen years ago,
and where were anti-slavery gatherings like this?
Where was this great Anti-Slavery or Republican
party? In 1840, they polled only two or three thou-
sand votes, while in the last presidential campaign,
more than a million votes were cast. Thus we see the
anti-slavery sentiment gradually increasing. Let fif-
teen years roll over our heads, and if the progress of
the cause is as rapid as during the last fifteen or twen-
ty-five years,—since the time Mr. Garrison began to
agitate the subject—I ask, where will the anti-slavery
sentiment be? With all the corruption in our gov-
ernment, and all the means of continued corruption,
it would not be strange if even in twenty-five years,
the shout of universal liberty should go up from the
thousands of crushed and down-trodden in our
land.

REMARKS OF MR. GARRISON.
MR. GARRISON rose and said—I listened with in-
terest to the remarks of the friend who has just
spoken, and was glad to hear from him a frank ex-
pression of his sentiments. I was glad, also, that he
called your attention to the banners you have sus-
pended above us, as they embody the sum total of our anti-
slavery heresies. The motto, 'Let the oppressed go
free,' is our 'fanaticism.' 'Our country is the world—
our countrymen are all mankind'—is our 'infidelity.'
'No Union with Slaveholders' is our 'treason.' So
you have it all before your eyes.
Our friend seemed to labor under some difficulty as
to the precise meaning of the motto, 'No Union with
Slaveholders.' I think the difficulty lies here:—we
do not attach the same idea of positive sin to slavery
that we do to highway robbery, piracy or adultery.
When we say, 'No union with highwaymen,' it means
no union with these, to knock down travellers, and
rob them. When we say, 'No union with counterfeit-
ers,' it means that we must not join counterfeiters to
circulate counterfeit money. When we say, 'No union
with adulterers,' it means that we must not unite with
them in promoting the sin of adultery. And by the
declaration, 'No union with slaveholders,' we mean
that the compact must be dissolved which enables
them to keep their slaves in bondage. We say, no
union religiously, because the slaveholders require
from us, as a condition of such union, that we ac-
knowledge the rightfulness, the religious propriety of
slavery. No union governmentally, because the South
says to the North, 'You must agree that we shall
have a constitutional right to hunt fugitive slaves
upon your soil, and to seize them wherever we find
them; and this we require as an essential condition
of the Union.' The North answers, 'We must have
a union; therefore, if it must be so, hunt and capture
your fugitive slaves on our soil.' But, says the
South, 'that is not all; just in proportion to the num-
ber of slaves we can breed or steal, our political pow-
er must be augmented in Congress.' Again the
North answers, 'We must have a Union; therefore,
if it must be so, we consent to the formation of a slave
oligarchy.' 'That is not all,' says the South; 'in case
our slaves get too strong for us, and strike for their
freedom, you must agree to come down and assist us
to subdue them—or there can be no Union.' Once
more says the North, 'We must have a Union;
therefore, if it must be so, we agree to this condition
also.' I understand these three things to constitute
the compact between the North and the South, as
pertaining to slavery. It is not merely my own un-
derstanding of the matter, but that of the people of
the North—the people of the whole country. We
therefore take our position outside of the Union, as a
matter of conscience, and in fidelity to the slave.
Here we stand, and bide our time—God helping us.
We hope ultimately to carry the North with us, be-
cause it possesses reason, intelligence and conscience,
and because it has no interest in the perpetuity of
slavery. We proclaim it to be folly and madness to talk
of putting down slavery in this land, by any thing we
can say or do, while we agree to stand by the slave-
holder, and give him all needed protection. THOMAS
H. BAXTON said in his lecture, last winter, 'If you
bring Canada line down to Maryland and Virginia,
the slaves in those States will step over it, and be free,'
—and he conjured the people of the North to adhere
to the Union, because it enables the slaveholders to
retain their slaves in bondage. This is just the reason
why I want Massachusetts, New England, the whole
North, to what Canada now is; in which case, we
will settle this question of slavery in twenty-four
hours, by rendering it impossible to keep its victims
any longer in captivity.
The moral obligation resting upon us of the North
to separate from the South, in view of the slavehold-
ing conditions of the Union, seems to me absolute and
overwhelming. It is sinful to 'strike hands with
thieves'—it is sinful to 'consent with adulterers'—
and, cost what it may, we must not commit sin. The
path of righteousness is the only path of safety. Let
us not hesitate to walk therein.

There are some other noticeable points in the re-
marks of our friend, on which some criticisms might
be made, but the hour is too late to protract a discus-
sion upon this subject. I trust he will see, by ex-
amining the matter a little more carefully, that our first
duty here at the North is to proclaim and adopt the
doctrine of 'No Union with Slaveholders!'
SELECTIONS.
THE AWFUL GUILT OF THE AMERICAN CHURCH IN REGARD TO SLAVERY.
The following 'infidel' speech was delivered before
the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, May 26
1836, by REV. JAMES T. WOODBURY, (brother of the
late Hon. LVI WOODBURY,) then of Acton, now of
Milford, (Mass.) As the position of the American
Church remains essentially the same in its relations to
slavery, this speech is as fearfully applicable now as
it was at the time it was made. How thoroughly it
uncharitizes that Church, and demonstrates it to be
an apostate body!
REV. JAMES T. WOODBURY, of Acton, offered the
following resolutions:—
Resolved, That this Convention do approve of the
resolutions which have been adopted by the Presby-
tery of Chillicothe, and do also urgently recommend
the practical enforcement of them, universally, and
without further delay:—
1. Resolved, That the buying, selling, or holding a
slave for the sake of gain, is a heinous sin and scan-
dal, and requires the cognizance of the judicatories of
the church.
2. That giving or bequeathing slaves to children or
others, as property, is a great sin, and when com-
mitted by church members, ought to subject them to cen-
sure.
3. That to sell a slave his own liberty, except when
the slave was purchased at his own request, and has
failed to remunerate his master for the price paid, is a
great injustice, and ought to exclude from our com-
munion.
4. That to offer a slave his freedom, only on con-
dition that he will leave his country, and go into a for-
eign land, is unjust, and ought to subject a church
member to censure.
5. That when a slave is emancipated, whose services
have been of much value to his master, refusing to
give him a reasonable compensation for his labor, when
his master is able to do it; or turning him out to the
world, when he wishes to stay as a tenant or hireling,
is a grievous sin, and when committed by a member
of the church, ought to subject him to suspension un-
til he repents.
6. That when a master advertises a reward for a
runaway slave, against whom no other crime is alleged
than escaping from slavery, he is guilty of a scandalous
sin, and forfeits his right to the sealing ordinances
of God's house.
7. That to apprehend a slave, who is endeavoring
to escape from slavery, with a view to restore him to
his master, is a direct violation of the divine law, and
when committed by a church member, ought to sub-
ject him to censure.
8. That any member of our church, who shall ad-
vocate, or speak in favor of such laws as have been,
or may be enacted for the purpose of keeping the
slaves in ignorance, or preventing them from learning
to read the word of God, is guilty of a great sin, and
ought to be dealt with as for other scandalous crimes.
9. That should any member of our church be so
wicked as to manifest a desire to exclude colored peo-
ple from a seat in the house of God, or at the Lord's
table, with white people, he ought, on conviction
thereof, to be suspended from the Lord's table, until
he repents.
These were the emphatic resolves of the Presby-
tery of Ohio. They came from the right source.
Why? Because the Church is defiled with the sin of
slavery. It is in the power of the Church to do
much, by doing its duty. It is in the power of the
Church to say, that they will not put their lips to
the cup, nor break bread with the slaveholder, while
his hands are stained with a brother's blood. The
work done by this Presbytery is rightfully done.—
They have not meddled with that which was 'none
of their business.' It belonged to them to feel
deeply, and speak and act decidedly on this matter.
It is not merely the cause of suffering humanity,
but preeminently the cause of the suffering children
of God. Among the millions of slaves, many are
professed and acknowledged members of the Church.
They are those who believe in Jesus Christ—those
who he deigns to call his brethren—and concerning
whom he said, 'Inasmuch as ye have done it unto
the least of these, my brethren, ye have done it unto
me.' The Church has a peculiar duty to per-
form in this matter, the duty of protecting its own
members, not against the world, but against one
another—the duty of preventing church mem-
bers from selling one another, from robbing one
another of the Bible, and from compelling one an-
other to work without wages. What is the Church
doing? Selling indulgences for sin—the worst of
sins—the sin of man-stealing—yes, the sin of steal-
ing and selling a brother in the Church! What do
they do? The hammer is lifted over the head of
the Christian—yes, the Christian, the child of God
—and the cry is, who bids? Brother sells his
brother, and the Church says, 'It is all right!' while
the watchman on the walls of Zion passes the
word, 'All's well!' Though the auctioneer is a
church member, the seller, and the buyer, and the
poor slave, all members of the same Church, yet the
Church does not censure the deed. It is all right!
Here is the first stone to be turned, and it must
be turned in the Church. If the Church does not
interfere, if it does not promptly and faithfully
exercise its right of correcting such sin, then it
is dead while it has a name to live. It has been
well said, by a member of the Presbyterian church,
distinguished as much for his profound learning as
for his sound piety, that, if the Church did not abol-
ish slavery, slavery would abolish the Church. Yes,
Mr. President, I can see, you can see, all can see,
that this great moral monster is fast dragging
down into its vortex, not the ark of our political
safety only, but the Ark of our God. It is enough
to see our Declaration of Independence, the great
bill of human rights, crumpled up, and smeared
as a mere 'rhetorical flourish'; but it is something
more to see this grim monster of oppression placing
his iron heel and bloody hand upon the Bible. The
patriot may well tremble for his country, but the
discerning Christian trembles for the Church. How
can we expect men of the world to respect the
Church, when they see ministers of the gospel ex-
changing their own cattle

